

THE MCGILL DAILY

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Monday, March 15, 1993



IMPERIALISM COLONIALISM ETHNOCENTRISM
SLAVERY GENOCIDE RACISM THIRD WORLD DEVELOPMENT
APPROPRIATION TOURIVOEURISM EXOTIFICATION
MULTICULTURALISM VISIBLE MINORITY MARGINALIZATION GHETTOIZATION
DECULTURALIZATION ORIENTALISM EUROCENTRISM SELF-NEGATION CULTURAL DIVERSITY
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ANTI-RACISM

SPECIAL ISSUE

Au ♥ de Montréal


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About the cover...

"Give me Liberty or Give me Death," Painting by Athena Shashi Röder, masters student in Philosophy of Aesthetics. From a series on the topic of just perceptions in a just society. Acrylic and oil on paper, 9th February, 1993. McGill has recently acquired two of her works.

**models.models.models.models.models.**

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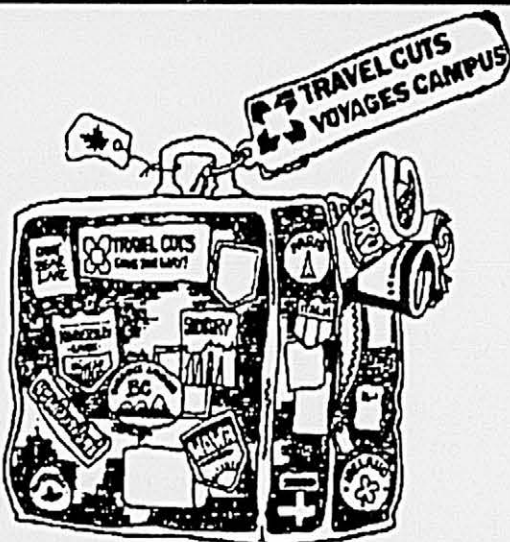
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— all staff should attend!

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Cégeps to go head to head with government

Students will strike today unless government makes clear intention on Cégep fees

BY HOWARD LIEBMAN

Students at Québec's 68 Cégeps are planning to walk-out next week in protest of potential tuition fees that could be announced by the provincial government later this month.

At the heart of the conflict between students and the government is a proposal to institute user fees to students who have failed five Cégep courses.

Such students would be forced to pay a per course fee of around \$45 for the remainder of their studies.

However, the minister for higher education, Lucienne Robillard, has been extremely vague about what sort of fees will be implemented, something that many students are very critical of.

"We're working on rumours and what's been said in the press," said

Martin Charlebois, president of the Students' Association at Cégep du Vieux-Montréal. "The minister won't make any firm announcements on changes to the Cégep system."

"Such a fee opens the door to general fees at the Cégep level and would be subject to increases over time. That's what worries us," said Charlebois.

The proposal for a penalty-type tuition fee came out of a parliamentary commission on the future of the Cégep system held last fall.

Many students' associations were frustrated that the commission process did not take students' views into account.

"We were ignored at that commission—only economic points were entertained," said Eric Guindon, co-coordinator of the Students' Association at Cégep Rosemont.

The Students' Associations at Rosemont, Granby and Maison-neuve Cégeps are spearheading an independent effort, on behalf of 18 Cégeps, denouncing the proposed fees as a restriction to accessibility.

The group is demanding the government clarify its intentions on tuition fees by today or an indefinite general walk-out by students will begin tomorrow.

"We held a symbolic general strike coinciding with the presentation of our ultimatum to the minister on the 11th," said Guindon. "The Cégeps have their strike mandates and students from the Université du Québec à Montréal may take action with us starting on the 16th if we don't hear from the minister."

Lucienne Robillard's political advisor Pierre Villeneuve lashed out at the student groups' plans.

"It is premature what the stu-

dents are planning," he said. "The minister has asked them to wait until the proposals are tabled."

Villeneuve dodged the issue of whether the government will implement fees at the Cégep level.

"The minister has met with the students and is aware of their opposition. Everyone will be consulted after the motion is tabled in the spring," he said.

The Cégeps have set up an information office to get their position across to the public called la Bureau d'information et du Communication de la Coalition Collégiale (BICCC).

"Charging people for school will set us back 25 years to when nuns and priests taught and only the rich got an education," said communications officer Sébastien McQuade.

The group's main complaint is that the principal of free education is enshrined in the law and the gov-

ernment is now trying to amend it behind everyone's backs.

"The signals that we're getting are clear and we must prepare now," McQuade said.

The government's plans further include abolishing three of the four physical education courses offered in Cégep, and ending philosophy as a distinct discipline.

Cégep teachers are sympathetic to the students' predicament and worry themselves about the effects of the proposed changes on the quality of education. Individual teachers are helping student initiatives at the local level while their unions are in consultation with the memberships.

"The students have reason to protest," said Fédération Autonome du Collégial vice-president Murdock. "The government's method of secrecy is creating a lot of confusion."

Little Equity at McGill *Students choose new Schmoos*

BY JONATHAN DESBARATS

Students ousted incumbent SSMU president Jason Prince and turned down Student Society's pleas to bail them out of pending financial ruin at last week's student elections.

Election results, which were announced Friday night in front of the kiosk in the Shattner building, revealed a decidedly conservative council. Students voted in only one member of the progressive Equity slate, which included incumbent prez Prince.

The Equity slate ran on a platform of dedication to student representation and equity issues, and suggested a new executive position of V.P. Equity which would have cut executive stipends by up to \$2 000.

Celia Moore, the new arts representative to council, was the only member of the Equity slate to be elected.

But Moore said she was not intimidated by the make-up of next year's council.

"I feel outnumbered, but I'm not going to compromise my position," she said.

New Students' Society president Mark Luz expressed his satisfaction with the results.

"I'm really excited to start as fast as I can," said Luz. "With the people that have been elected it is a potentially excellent year."

Luz stressed experience in his platform. He commended former prez Prince on his battle against the administration, and said he would build on those gains.

"It's up to us to fight the university, especially in the realm of Student Services. We're not getting our money's worth," said Luz.

But council could be too preoccupied fending off bankruptcy to duke it out with the administration over the controversial Student Services budget, as 59 per cent of voting students said no to the debt repayment referendum question. The plan proposed a \$2.50 per term increase in Students' Society fees to help pay off SSMU's \$500 000 debt.

The newly-elected council members said they expected the debt question to fail.

"I was betting on it not going through," said Luz. "The SSMU is going to face a lot of challenges next year."

Newly elected VP finance Paul Johnson seemed less concerned.

"It's business as usual as far as I'm concerned," said Johnson. "I see a lot of potential problems, but they're problems I've been facing with Walksafe so I'm prepared."

Johnson, a Walksafe co-ordinator for 1992-93, was especially pleased with the results of the Walksafe referendum question. Students voted overwhelmingly for the \$.50 per term levy built in to Students' Society fees to fund Walksafe.

"I feel terrific about the fact that Walksafe will continue for years to come," said Johnson.

The candidates who were elected expressed an overall optimism for next year. Most talked about the potential for council unity, which was a problem this year.

"We'll be able to do a lot of great work together next year," said new V.P. external Andrew Work.

Sounds great, presuming the energy and optimism expressed was genuine, not a product of post election euphoria, and the freely flowing beer at Gerts.

ELECTION AND REFERENDA RESULTS

REFERENDA:

Numbers do not add up to 100% because we have excluded "no opinions." Winners are presented first.

Legal Aid fee increase:

Yes: 2140 70%
No: 664 19%

Support Daily off campus distribution:

Yes: 2171 64%
No: 865 26%

Daily Board of Directors:

Corey Cooke, Ophira Eisenberg, Michael Fleischner, Zoreen Nurany, Matthew Paterson, Eugenia Xenos.

Walksafe fee increase (\$1.50/term):

Yes: 2804 86%
No: 367 11%

Fee increase to pay off SSMU debt and build capital reserves (\$2.50/term):

No: 1867 59%
Yes: 1070 34%

Exclude International Students from health plan automatically:

Yes: 2075 68%
No: 353 12%

SSMU EXECUTIVES:

President

Mark Luz: 1268 44%
Jason Prince (Eq): 678 23%
Amy Ridley: 509 18%
Belinda Grondin: 272 9%
Dan Lazaratos: 184 6%

VP University Affairs:

Ruth Promislow: 1655 60%
Deborah Gomez (Eq): 1103 40%

VP Internal:

Cornell Wright: 986 34%
Megan Stephens: 748 26%
Isabelle Fieschi (Eq): 592 20%
Eddy Saad: 420 14%
Dan Singleton: 162 6%

VP External:

G. Andrew Work: 1289 52%
Alexander Boldizar: 1194 48%

VP Finance:

Paul Johnson: 1146 43%
Pat Harewood (Eq): 803 30%
Tatiana Glad: 739 30%

ENGINEERING

(numbers not available):

President:

Will Phillipson

VP Services:

Vanessa Skelton

VP Academic:

Séverine de Wagheneire

ARTS:

Representatives to SSMU:

Heather Begin,
Celia Moore (Equity),
Corey Cook

Senators:

Jennifer Shapiro,
Rich Latour

SCIENCE:

VP Academic:

Carolyn Katz: 379 76%
Josh Abiscott: 119 24%

Representatives to SSMU:

Jennifer Small,
Isabelle Girard

Senators:

Scott Kapoor,
Arnold Kwok

Montréal groups to celebrate diversity

BY HOWARD LIEBMAN

Montréal social action groups are planning a lively city-wide anti-racism demonstration in the wake of a perceived wave of racist and homophobic violence.

Organizers hope that the rally will be more of a celebration rather than a protest of picketing and slogan-chanting.

A coalition of 20 Montréal groups will co-sponsor the event, to coincide with the UN's International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination.

The mobilization is the brain-child of local anti-racism coalition Un Québec Pour Tout le Monde

(One Québec for All). "We wanted to bring people together, to promote a society free of racial discrimination," said coalition activist André Trépanier.

Rally organizers refer to the rise of homophobic and racist violence and the rise of extreme rightist groups in the province as the impetus for this event.

They further allude to "disputable government and police policies" in response to these recent trends.

Ghislain Paquette, who handles cases of homophobic violence for the Montréal Gay and Lesbian Community Centre, explained why his group decided to co-sponsor the rally.

"Being against racism, we hope to bring attention to rising violence against gays and to express our desire to lead normal lives like everyone else," he said. "I'm hoping that the public will turn out and that our message will be heard."

But the protest will take on an unusual form. Instead of flags representing groups and countries, 40 solid coloured flags signifying a *joie de vivre*, will be flown accompanied by ethnic music and dancing.

Trépanier said that recent events in and out of Québec call for action, and that a demonstration in Montréal coinciding with the UN anniversary is long overdue. Many of the world's other major cities stage annual public events on this

day.

Trépanier noted that 20 other local groups will co-sponsor the rally, among them la Ligue des Droits et Libertés, the Montréal Gay and Lesbian Community Centre, the World Anti-Fascist League and the Côte-des-Neiges-based Project Genesis.

Student federations, First Nations and anti-violence groups are also taking part.

Un Québec's other current projects include the production of a comic book and a video for the public, against intolerance.

Citing South Africa's institutionalized racism, rally organizers decided to begin the march at the South African consulate. The pro-

cession is slated to pass St-Laurent (first home of many of Montreal's ethnic communities), police station 33 and Montreal's gay village on its way to the 350th anniversary parc at Berri Square near UQAM.

That site too is symbolic. "We are against the naming of the park after the 350th anniversary of Montreal," said Trépanier.

"This name ignores the fact that there were people living here before the founding of the city, and we think that a different name should be found," he said.

The rally will begin outside the South African Consulate at 1 Place Ville Marie at 1h30 on Sunday, March 21 and will proceed to Berri Park.

Towards the future for an anti-racism working group

BY NITYANAND DECKHA

It is always mind-boggling to recognize how readily opposed liberal Westerners are to any discrimination in the public treatment of people of color while remaining blind to it in more individualized relationships or when dealing with difference on a one-to-one basis.

— Trinh T. Minh-ha

Many people were surprised that I wanted, as one of the coordinators of the McGill Anti-Racism Working Group, to write a critical assessment of the group in public. Whereas some may see this piece as potentially smacking of "airing your dirty laundry in public," I see it as a rare opportunity to open up for discussion how a culturally and politically diverse group can come together and be productive.

There were a number of impulses that compelled me to think about writing my piece, primarily stemming from some of my dissatisfactions with the way the group has worked. Perhaps the "problem" began when literally 125 people signed up to be "part of the Anti-Racism Working Group" and only 10 or so people remained after several meetings, and thus should have been diagnosed earlier.

However, it seems to me that I myself was not prepared for what was going to happen in terms of the difficulties that would present themselves in the months to come.

If such a statement seems to have a tragic quality to it, it shouldn't. Instead, my first experience in co-starting a group has served as a point of departure for me to re-think and continue to investigate the discourse of racism and how it is interconnected historically, politically, economically and socially with other global structures of oppression, which include various forms of imperialism, neo-colonialism, sexism, heterosexism, ethnocentrism, and Eurocentrism, and how we are all implicated and constructed, as human subjects, out of these structures.

I write these "isms" not to sound dogmatic or theoretically correct, but rather as an invitation for us, as human agents to seriously and critically question the ways in which these structures have formed our world and its effects on peoples' lives.

A friend suggested to me that perhaps what was necessary as a prerequisite for starting an anti-racism working group was an intensive, broad-based, multivocal discussion about the issues which I outline above, which would serve as a platform to inform our practice.

Too often, members were interested in "speaking out against racism," in "eliminating racism," or self-declaring themselves to be anti-racist, but seemed to have a very limited notion of what racism was about and its ramifications on those that it affects. Indeed, I often see such posturings made from subject positions which privilege their own Eurocentred perspectives.

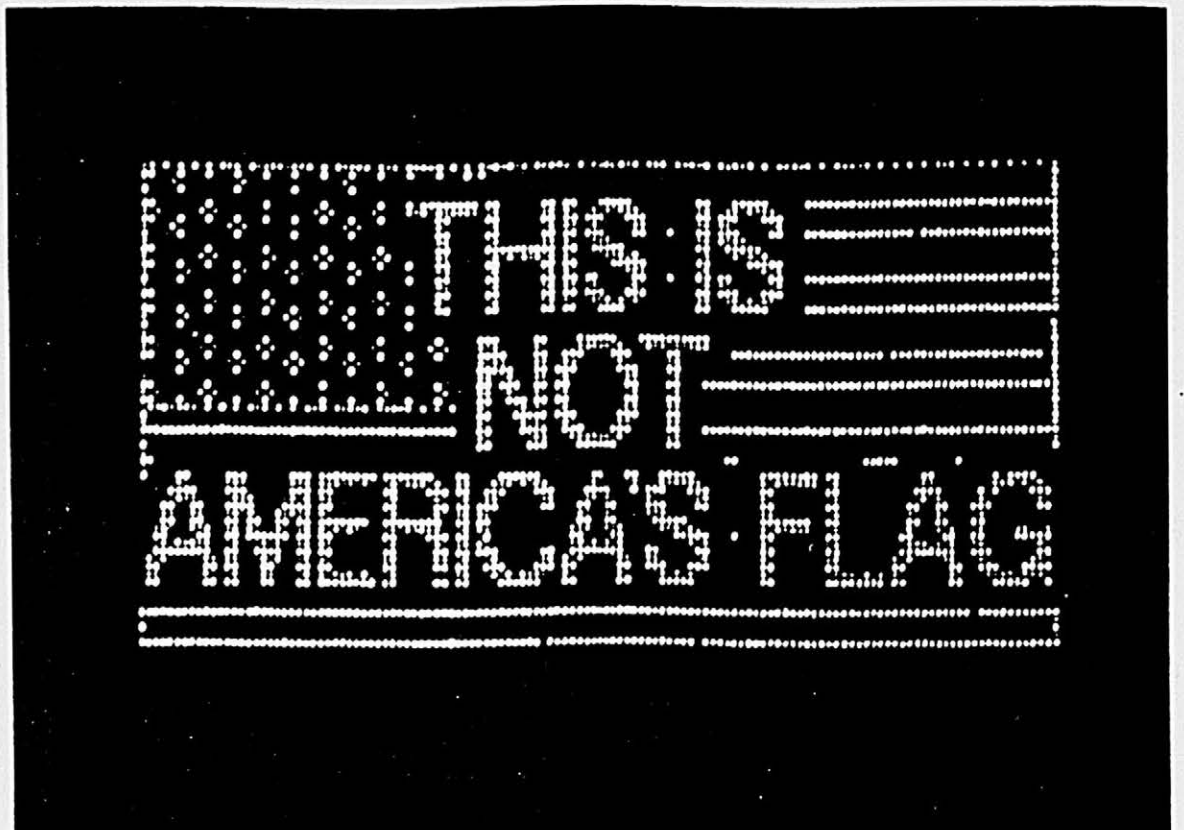
In addition, suggestions of "coalition-building" and "working with other groups on these issues" are made without serious thought to how problematic many of the approaches to these issues are. Thus, questions of white people taking the time and energy to diligently and

critically de-learn their racism, de-center their Eurocentrism, de-privilege their cultural, social, and historical standpoints on various issues and yet acknowledge and understand how their perspectives have been made dominant have never been addressed in the Anti-Racism Working Group.

Questions on the violence of racism—not just physical violence, but psychic and cultural violence, which results in forms of self-negation in people of color—remain largely unexplored.

These steps are crucial if we are to ever reach that still elusive table where we can, as people from dif-

ferent cultural origins, histories, experiences, genders, sexual orientations, and social classes, discuss how we can re-vision our world and emancipate ourselves from the intricate international webs of oppression. I offer my thoughts as an initial step to the realizations of this goal.



The Shakti Womanist Collective



Shakti is a women of colour collective currently in its infant stage at McGill. Embodying a womanist direction, the collective seeks to create a much needed space and foster critical discussion on issues of specific relevance for women of colour.

Primarily, it will focus on exposing the ways in which racism and sexism are intercon-

nected oppressions since they are both perpetuated by Western systems of non-hierarchical, anti-racist, anti-sexist, and anti-colonialist organization.

It offers and encourages space in which women of colour may define and direct themselves. In keeping with the meaning of its name, the collective desires to harness female energy into a militant

form of resistance against oppression.

The collective is a subsidiary of the Women's Union at McGill with whom we will keep in close contact. It will also engage in discussion and/or projects with other progressive student groups.

Tentative events for the upcoming year include anti-racism and anti-sexism workshops, film, dance, and music series, as well as other collaborative efforts.

The collective is an open forum receptive to any and all of the ideas and proposals of its members that are conducive to fostering a struggle in solidarity against domination. Please consider this an open invitation to all women of colour interested and committed to our underlying purpose to join the collective.

Those interested may contact Maneesha Deckha at 398-6823. Shakti holds weekly meetings on Fridays at 16h in Union 423.

This society was made for you

Nathalie, an Asian-Caribbean Canadian student, was a candidate for the position of human rights commissioner at an Ontario university. Although qualified, she did not receive the job. Instead it went to a white male student. This is the letter she wrote to him in response to his statement of employment.

For 500 years, your voice has dominated, been nurtured, encouraged, and heard. You have had 500 years to perfect the art of language and voice and people manipulation.

Early this year is when I started to find my voice and reclaim it. Not even a year has gone by and I am expected to prove myself to be twice as good as you, to be even considered an equal.

You can be active, just as active as I, but you don't have the perpetuating fear of sexual, gender and racial harassment. In the stores, you will be served first. I might even have a higher education than you, but I will still be overlooked, and 'disse', disregarded, disdained and disrespected.

You are automatically treated with respect — I have to prove that I deserve it, and even then I cannot escape the sexism and racism inherent in this society.

You can walk into any room and blend in — I am always asked if I am lost, and where I come from. It is a given that you are Canadian. It is an assumption that I am not.

You can freely express your love and affection for your partner. Society glorifies you. I cannot even walk hand in hand with a partner for fear of assault, and therefore I am constantly on the vigil, tense and waiting on the defense, because the moment I let my guard down I will be crushed.

You will never be asked to explain the size of your feet, the shape of your eyes, the history of Trinidad, to explain and re-explain your ancestry.

You don't have to seek refuge because yours is the dominant culture. You will never be asked how come you speak the English language so well, talk so loudly, are so aggressive. This society is made for people like you.

"I am aware of the multiplicity of opportunities that white men have in academia [and society] to show their stuff, and the very few opportunities that are afforded to Asian women...white men have been expounding on literature [and society] for at least 200 years.

"I wondered if the administration thought that the participation of white academics (men) would somehow boost the legitimacy of [the position of human rights commissioner].

"As far as I am aware, [you] risk nothing by becoming a so-called expert in this seemingly exotic [and noble 'field of interest'] and can only gain credentials by doing so.

"Furthermore, [you] are building [your] career more or less at [your] leisure: no one is restricting [your] choice of academic terrain... given the fact that our political consciousness still reflects centuries of colonial domination by white imperialists, now is hardly the time to invite white people to speak to our experience as Asian people [oppressed people, marginalized people].

"The fact that white people can become recognized as 'experts' on our experience is evidence of the race privilege they wield... the truth is that as People of Colour, our status is a constant, visible disruption of the status quo, affecting our daily lives in ways you can barely imagine if you are white." (Karin Anguilar-San Juan, "Exploding Myths, Creating Consciousness: Some first steps towards Pan-Asian unity".)

I am not actively opposed to forms of

oppression because I have a "deep spiritual connection and belief", but because I was shoved into this racist, sexist, classist, heterosexist, homophobic, agist and ablist world, and it is the only route for my survival and sanity.

Yet you are looked upon as noble, glorified because you are interested in fighting to end the oppression of all peoples. My awareness was never developed and enlightened — I grew up bearing the brunt of racist and sexist attitudes compounded together.

If you are going to be working on your guilty conscience, you are not fit for the job. Look how sensitive and liberal you proclaim yourself to be, you are able to admit that you are a straight white male.

(It is no threat to the status quo to proclaim yourself to be heterosexual — it doesn't take that much courage.)

Something to deny? Flaunt? You seem to be having a hard time finding a balance between your guilt and self-righteousness, hiding and flaunting, laden with guilt as you are.

Acknowledge your position of power and white-skinned privilege. This society is made for you. Just because your best friend is [fit name of token minority here] does not mean that you are not racist.

It is a scary thing when well-intentioned people like you think the goal is for the day to come when the colour of my skin, my gender, and my sexual orientation won't be the first thing you see.

The "oneness of humanity" does not build the bridge between our separate identities but creates the fallacy of a homogeneous group. Otherwise, you are denying my past, denying my lifetime's worth of experience, denying the very core of who I am.

My identity is NOT the same as yours and it never will be.



The roots of racism

BY CHARLES ROACH

The nature of racism can only be understood from a historical and global perspective. The roots of modern day racism lie in the European conquest of the world — Asia, Africa, the Americas and the lands of the Pacific Ocean.

Monarchs and the ruling powers of Spain, Portugal, France, Great Britain and other European countries have within the last 500 years caused their will and authority to be exerted over the indigenous people of North America, Africa, Asia and the lands of the Pacific.

The right of self-determination was taken away from coloured peoples through conquest by war or through colonization. These imperial rulers have caused the people of those regions to be subject to their supremacy.

The lands of the Americas and the Caribbean were populated by great numbers of native people. Yet history books of Europe and North America make it appear as though these lands were great empty spaces before being settled by Europeans.

Similarly, it is not widely known that Australia and New Zealand were thickly populated by Maoris and other aboriginal peoples. Millions of these people perished through warfare and imported diseases, thus substantially wiping out their populations.

With respect to Africa, the European powers caused millions of its native inhabitants to be forcibly brought to the Caribbean and the Americas to work as slaves.

These Africans were brought to replace

Amerindians who had also been enslaved and substantially perished within decades of the advent of Europeans to the Americas. The holocaust of the native people and of African people is an important historical fact omitted from school history texts.

In order to justify and rationalize their conquest of people of colour, the European rulers created theories of cultural, genetic and physical inferiority. Indeed some of the non-white people were regarded as sub-human.

In 1885, at a conference in Berlin, the European powers sat down and carved up the continent of Africa into colonial parcels. These lands were divided amongst themselves. Certain parcels went as colonies to the English, French, German, Belgian, Portuguese, Dutch and Spanish. Later, parts of Africa came under Italian conquest. Thereafter, the human and natural resources were made to serve European interests.

As the countries of the Northern Hemisphere became more developed, those of the Southern Hemisphere remained underdeveloped.

Having people of these colonies in subjugation could only be rationalized by a theory of racial supremacy. It must be kept in mind that not only the black people were subjugated but also the red, yellow and brown.

In his brilliant essay on "Liberty", John Stewart Mill the English philosopher of liberalism (through whose jurisprudence the legal system of the common law found its philosophical rationalization), regarded people of the colonies to be in their "pupillage" — only

when they had sufficiently graduated to European standards should they be allowed equality.

The idea of racial supremacy of the people of Europe over the rest of the world is inculcated in all human beings. Today, 500 years after the coming of Columbus to the Americas, we find the United States seeking to dominate the world as the only superpower. We also find the so-called third world remaining in economic underdevelopment.

The idea that coloured people are inferior and white people superior is as much a pervasive idea here in Canada as it is in India, Papua New Guinea, Hong Kong or South Africa.

Racism will continue to be pervasive until the various countries of the world gain full self-determination. No one can respect the powerless. Powerless peoples of the world will always be treated with less dignity.

It is fashionable but erroneous to regard racism solely as stereotyping, bigotry or prejudice on the part of individuals. However, nasty incidents like name-calling, Ku Klux Klan activities and systemic exclusion from jobs and opportunities and discriminatory immigration policies based on colour, are all sub-dominant themes to western global geopolitical hegemony that has been a phenomenon since the 15th century.

The emphasis in the struggle against racism must be for the greater independence and economic ascendancy of the exploited nations of the world.

It is not until the nations of the red, yellow, brown and black people of the world enjoy self-determination that those nations will enjoy the freedom of equal dignity. This self-determination cannot be realized unless there is a sharing of power by the Western nations.



**RIMA BANERJI,
KIKÉ ROACH,
DAVE AUSTIN
AND
NITYANAND
DECKHA MET
THURSDAY,
MARCH 11, 1993
TO EXPLORE
THE
ISSUE OF
RACISM
AND ITS INTER-
CONNECTEDNESS
WITH
EUROCENTRISM,
(NEO)IMPERIALISM,
(NEO)COLONIALISM,
"DEVELOPMENT",
TOURISM AND
"ETHNICITY",
AMONG OTHER
TOPICS.
FOLLOWING
ARE SOME
EXCERPTS
FROM OUR
CONVERSATION**

PEOPLE OF COLOUR SPEAK FROM THE CENTRE

CONVERSATIONS
TRANSCRIBED BY
NITYANAND DECKHA

Rima: It sickens me that Eurocentrism has succeeded in denying the existence of 90% of the world's population and this seems to come of this white supremacist attitude that denies history, herstory, taking over institutions that they have colonized and making themselves experts of the world and no one else is competent enough to govern.

Kiké: If you just come into the world, say as a Martian, you would be able to see the preponderance of Western influence everywhere, and it's funny that where whites constitute something like 5-10% of the population of different kinds of people, there is this belief that whiteness is a universal, whiteness is something that is generic and non-ethnic, it is being a human being and having a culture.

I think it is dangerous for whites themselves to think that they are not made up of different cultures, different ethnic groups that happen to be part of Europe. But because they have gone to other parts of the world and try to steal or totally erase other cultures and replace them with their own, you get this sense that their culture is a moving force.

Rima: It seems to be a distraction that our cultures are not real, they just have entertainment value. If you get into the food, clothing, entertainment — that will keep Western people with a lot of leisure time occupied. It just caters to their strong need to immerse themselves.

Nityanand: It's this whole mentality that the South World, where the majority of people live, is this vast playground. That's the whole notion of tourism where they can come and stay at nice hotels, get served, and then leave and not know anything about the culture.

They'll get some artisanal crafts — this connects into the whole global economic system, oppression. Their system has been exported, colonized by the North. Their whole denial of alternate cultures, alternate histories, alternate conceptions of reality as being legitimate.

Rima: When tourists go in, the majority of the time is spent catering. This ties into Eurocentrism again, because they are the centre of attention, even in another context.

Because they have the money and the economic power, the colour politics, these mentalities are perpetuated.

Kiké: It's really sickening how there are whole islands in the Caribbean — 90% of their economy depends on white Northerners and using the entire land, the people, everything for their pleasure. It happens all over the place.

In parts of East Asia, there are women whose bodies are being colonized by western men who go there and decide they want to go have their sexual adventure, and there's these women who because of their destitution are forced to be prostitutes for these men. That's colonization at a very intimate level.

Rima: This ties into development work and the notion of charity and aid, and the notion of helping and empowering people who are thought not to be able to help themselves.

Meanwhile the only reason we have survived is because we have been creative, innovative, and have ways surviving without the help of Western technology, which is used as a justification for the IMF and World Bank, to go in and restructure the economy to suit their own purposes.

Kiké: Let's talk about that imperialism in what happened in Africa. For 400 years we had this situation where hundreds of thousands of people were being taken on a yearly basis. I have read estimates where it could be more than 60 million people who were actually inducted into this slave system.

To do that for 400 years and not even to acknowledge that was wrong in a very public way, say we're going to make amends, we're going to do reparations here and rebuild all those societies that we depleted...

But then to come in this age and dump a few bags of grain on a few people like they are the lowly scum of the earth and say look, we're helping you know. It gives these ignorant people a false sense of superiority. That whole notion that "if you just stop having those kids you wouldn't be poor" is ridiculous.

Dave: I don't think if everybody, say in as small an environment as McGill University, discovered that everything that we know as history is false anyway you look at it — what is



taught and what isn't, how things are thought — I don't think that the majority of people, specifically white people... I don't think it's in their interest to change that and say that "all this is wrong and now we're going to do the right thing". That means they would suffer.

Rima: We just have to seize our power ourselves, and do it ourselves. If we have energy, just to back into our communities rather than a lot of times wasting it on education.

Kiké: Nobody ever concedes power, you have to take it. The thing is that actually oppressing other people is so difficult to do, so what whites have had to throughout history is to construct all these lies to justify that it is okay to do this, so they have to see us as sub-human.

Actually, racism and the philosophy of racism started developing to a high degree right at the same time of the development of the slave trade in Africa.

Dave: This is why history is important, not to romanticize the idea of what people of colour were back before their interaction with whites whether you are talking about Africa, Asia, or anywhere. Europeans don't have their origins.

If you don't understand how people lived before the advent of slavery, colonialism, etc., you assume the mindset that these people came here and they brought some civilization, "we're backward people".

A lot of us get caught up in this romantic idea of how we were when everything was perfect: that's rubbish, that never existed. We were capable of living our lives to a high degree before the Europeans came, and we see this exacerbation of so-called Western civilization and because of the exploitation of these people who were living relatively well.

Rima: This ties into self-hatred, this internalized hatred and wanting to assume a white identity in many ways — a remnant of the colonialist period where we have to be validated by the dominator.

So, even now we break away from what we perceive as being primitive and traditional and now white has become something that is civilized and acceptable and dominant.

Kiké: The way that education works for whites is that it validates them, it reinforces to them, that yes they are superior. For those who are, in Canada, people of colour, the way that the institution works is by transplanting that white brain into ourselves so that we are white too or we act in the interests of whites and forget that this institution is not here for our people.



THE FOLLOWING DISCUSSION WAS ORGANIZED BY THE ANTI-RACISM WORKING GROUP FOR WHITE PEOPLE TO DISCUSS THEIR RESPONSIBILITY FOR DE-LEARNING RACISM AND THE WAYS THEY SHOULD (IF THEY DO AT ALL) ENGAGE IN ANTI-RACIST PRACTICE. THE PARTICIPANTS WERE STEVEN ROURKE, KERRY JONES, CHRIS BELL, LISA GRUSHCOW, JONATHAN SHIME AND JASON PRINCE ➤

THE WHITE TABLE

Steven: The idea of this discussion was to get a bunch of white people together to discuss concrete things they can do about racism. Now, one of the things that we talked about before we starting taping was the whole idea of whether a forum like this is a valuable type of discussion. What do you think?

Chris: Something we often see in Native Awareness Coalition are people wondering what it is. There aren't a lot of Natives on campus and most of the people in our group are not Native.

People are always wondering what use there is having a group of white people called Native Awareness. Somebody is always approaching us with a preconceived idea of either white angst or some form of anti-political urging. We look at ourselves as a bunch of individuals who as a group are able to investigate our own interests and follow up on our concerns about certain issues.

Lisa: I think that there is a certain legitimacy, but I think that there is also a danger that we have to be aware of in terms of not detracting attention from issues which have to be dealt with, and not detracting attention from the voices of people of colour who are the ones who often have more experience, more knowledge.

That's no excuse for not being educated ourselves, but it is saying that we have to be careful that we don't detract attention when we are figuring out what we are trying to do. It's also important that we don't sequester ourselves to the point that we're not in contact with people whom we should be working with.

Chris: Yeah, I think the lesson you have is to speak from experience. We can't speak for somebody else's experience or for something that we are not.

Jonathan: I think that's what the fear is when a group of white people meet like this. We want to promote the interests of a group of people who are not represented at a meeting.

Often those concerns are the ones that are first pushed off the agenda.

And I think it's partly dangerous when you get caught up in sort of—let's call it white guilt. You know—what can I do, I feel guilty about who I am. And people get more concerned about their own standing, rather than the issues at hand.

So while I think it is a valuable forum, working in conjunction with other groups, racial minority groups [sic], gay and lesbian groups and so on, is absolutely crucial.

Jason: Yeah, I would think there's an appropriate place for a group like this one to organize and debate an issue that is being discussed, for instance, by the Black Students' Network to find out how we could support their initiative.

But a group like this ought not to take any independent action on behalf of, let's say, the Black Students' Network, or a Native group on campus.

Steven: You would say that the responsibility is to find out specifically what groups are doing, and then to work with them?

Jason: Take leadership from the group in question—that I think is critical.

Jonathan: I think also that the white community, if you use that term, has sat back and waited for those groups—racial minority groups [sic], gay and lesbian groups and others—to come to us and educate us.

It's not their responsibility to do so and I think it's time that we have to recognize that we have to take some responsibility for educating ourselves. It's not up to someone Jewish or someone gay to come up and educate us. We have to take that responsibility upon ourselves, and we can't do it in a vacuum.

I would expect that part of the learning process is to speak to people from those different groups. But it's time that we understood that being born white and in my case as a straight male, that we have, just by our very nature, a certain privilege.

It's not a guilt about that privilege, it's just a recognition of that privilege. I have that privilege, and I have a certain responsibility to try and work towards lessening some of the discrepancies.

So the white community has to recognize that responsibility, to educate themselves about the issues in conjunction with others, and to take concrete action in conjunction with others.

Kerry: Your concrete action though, will to a large degree, educate other white people about heterosexual mainstream people—people who are in the "norm". I mean, can you really do that, with sort of second-hand sources of information? It's a really precarious situation to be in.

Lisa: I think it's possible to educate oneself so one can work on the issue, but at the same time to use one's position in such way as to not hijack the issues, to not take the issues from people. In a sense we need to build on what was said about listening and learning, but not necessarily taking the leadership roles.

Jonathan: I think that traditionally, if you look back over a number of different move-

Steven: So in practical terms where does that leave people then? If you want to become involved but you don't wish to take power yourself, how can you concretely get involved?

Jason: I think there are concrete things that a group like this can do. For example, recall when the Africana Studies program was a hot topic of debate in the Black Students' Network.

They were actively organizing to get a course taught by a professor of African descent. There was nothing said on campus. There was almost no support from "white" groups, and that kind of thing.

Let's assume we understand all of that and educate ourselves on that question. At McGill University, an international university—there are no courses dealing with Africana Studies...

Steven: So one of the most basic things that one can do is to be aware of things going on and voice one's support?

Jason: Yes, we should be actively working with the university in establishing these programs.

Lisa: I'm very uncomfortable with the notion of white students at McGill giving their opinion on a certain issue. I would say there is a role, but not if it is organizing ourselves as white students and being overtly opinionated. That would carry with it the notion of permission—we'll let this be your issue, we'll put our support behind this issue. And, I think that's very dangerous. A better way is to help groups when they ask for our help and to stay out when they ask us to stay out.

Steven: I think that's where this group is a bit contrived. None of us individually work in an all-white environment, an all-white group or anything like that. We wouldn't be acting as whites for a specific issue. It wouldn't be this white group saying that or this white group lending support.

Kerry: I'm still not comfortable about what we were talking about earlier. I mean having to draw a line on an individual basis—get involved to a certain extent, yes—give your support, yes—

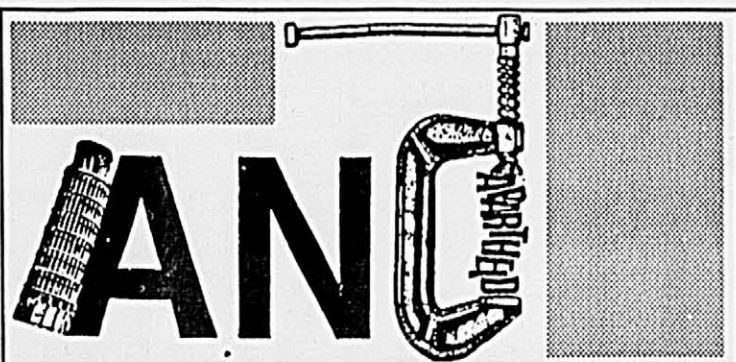


ments, there were a lot of times when what you had was white people maybe coming into the movement and taking over positions of leadership, and in some sense co-opting the movement, taking positions where they became the spokesperson for an organization.

And I think that's really one of the dangers. So in a sense that's why I think a group like this is valuable, because there's recognition that racial minorities [sic] and people of colour need a space of their own and a forum where they can speak on their own without that traditional scenario wherein white people come in and co-opt the movement.

become educated, yes—stand up for people of colour and other minorities [sic]. But essentially you have to draw back and leave some of yourself elsewhere. Yes, I guess I'm disempowered to an extent, but I'm not part of a group that's disenfranchised.

Steven: The whole idea of just confronting the fact that we have all been exposed to discrimination, we've all had it inculcated in us, so we have to confront the situations where you've been accused of racism or are you racist yourself. You can't just jump on the bandwagon and say yeah, I'm in an anti-racism working group.



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**STUDENT
SPECIALS**

A journal in the service of Black Revolution

*an interview with A. Sivanandan,
chief editor of the journal Race and Class*

THE JOURNAL *RACE AND CLASS* is recognized widely as the best and most astute journal on the so-called Third World. It covers a wide range of social and political issues in a manner scarcely found in most journals on Third World issues.

Last August the *Daily* interviewed A. Sivanandan, chief editor of the journal, at the Institute of Race Relations in London, England and discussed the history of the Institute, *Race and Class*, and the roots of the Black struggle for social and political power in Britain.

BY DAVID AUSTIN

SIVANANDAN: The Institute of Race Relations was set up in the late '50s and '60s as an independent research organization looking into race relations all over the world as it were. But it looked into race relations mostly in Third World countries. Third World countries were moving from colonialism to neocolonialism after the independence of Africa, the Caribbean, and Asian nations and the theory about race had to be changed.

So in the colonial period the theory on which the hierarchy of races was built was that Black people, non-white people were inferior and their cultures inferior and their languages inferior. Now, that helped during the period of slavery and colonialism to justify and rationalize oppression and exploitation on the basis of color.

But once the nations became independent and began to move themselves to speak — in form if not effect — they had their own chiefs, their own prime ministers, and their own governors and their own kings and so on. Then the theory had to change in order to accommodate the independent countries and in order to accommodate the new rulers.

Under colonialism Black people were supposed to be inferior. Under neo-colonialism you are not inferior: we are all equals, all children under god.

But what they didn't say was that "some" of us will continue to play god because we've got the economic clout. So basically it was a Black skins white masks syndrome and the Institute of Race Relations was brought, in my view, to bring respectability and credibility to that type of approach towards race relations.

The second reason I think why the Institute of Race Relations was set up was to investigate for private enterprise, for multi-national corporations on what was happening in these new countries of Asia and Africa as between races, so-called tribes and nationalities, and how best investment could proceed in these countries, what sort of forces were there which would accommodate foreign investment multi-national corporations, mining industries, and

what climate existed in these particular countries.

Were these countries too nationalist? Too left wing? Were they collaborationists? Could they be bought over? Where were the Uncle Toms, and what sort of ideology had to be created? The research [conducted by the Institute of Race Relations] had to investigate this.

*We organized
independent Black
political struggles in
the working class.
That is what gave us
our authority.*

If you look at our publications in the first ten or fifteen years of the Institute of Race Relations, it's all about investments in Africa, race relations in Fiji, something else in Sri Lanka and so on and so forth.

Occasionally you might get a good look about racism as such but the subject was the relations between races and how best to overcome these things in order to provide a decent climate for foreign investment.

I came in '64, as the first black person they employed at the Institute, as a librarian. The library, of course, was meant for the council members, the governing body of the Institute, and their friends and so on.

Daily: So the library was not open to the general public?

No, but I opened it out to the public unofficially because I wanted Black people to come and learn about their own history and began to take in material like the Black Panther Party's newspaper, Elijah Muhammad Speaks, South African newspapers, the *Granma* from Cuba, and some other things that you still see here in the library.

So Black kids (I mean Afro-Caribbeans, Asians, and Africans) were very interested in what was happening and they would come to the library and read and have discus-

sions. And I, in turn, became politicized by the street and I became a street kid again.

This began to tell on the staff in the library. I had assistance librarians who became politicized also. Because, unlike the African-American, we still had a consciousness of our land base from places like India, Malaysia, Jamaica, Ghana, Nigeria, Tasmania. We had in common an anti-colonial perspective.

What were the important factors that brought people of various nationalities together in this period?

What brought us together was two things. First of all, the history of independence struggle in our own countries. Secondly, a common language in English (nearly all of us were bilingual at least) and thirdly we had a feeling we were being discriminated against on the basis of our race and our colour. And there were no distinctions in the racism then.

It was an undifferentiated racism. If you were non-white you were Black. It didn't matter if you were called a wog or a nigger: you were unacceptable. So that because racism didn't differentiate between Afro-Caribbeans and Asians and Africans.

It was much more sophisticated and they began to play us against each other. Most of the Africans worked in the service industries, most of the Asians worked in the factories, and that was part of our colonial and slave histories.

Luckily for Asia it didn't undergo the same sort of slavery, but it had an indentured slavery, like in Sri Lanka for instance where workers from India were brought to tea plantations in Sri Lanka.

So we had a plantation economy similar to the Caribbean. And other parts of India had this sort of economy. So there were all sorts of points of coincidences. But what was important here was that we lived cheek by jaw with each other in the same municipal area; in rundown areas.

Housing was impossible. They came together to help each other as a community for class because about

continued on next page...



RACE & CLASS

cybernation biotechnology production

The struggle of Palestinian women
Cricket and the mirror of racism
Press and democracy in Africa

Racism: the road from Germany
Race, class and the US election

eighty per cent of us were working class people.

So we came together as a people and a class for a people and a class. And that is how Black was born into political colour. That is what is unique about the British experience.

Despite the fact that there was only about 2 million of us the Black Power movement caught on and the independence struggles in Guinea Bissau and [unclear], and Amílcar Cabral came and Malcolm X came here, Ho Chi Minh was here.

The understanding of the Third World was something that was organic to Black people in this country. So the colour of our skin didn't matter as much as the economic situation and the political situation and the political situations that we had come out of.

But after the late '60s the way that the government moved, either consciously or subconsciously, [the government began] breaking down Black into its cultural parts: Caribbean, Asian, African. So we get a bunch of multicultural studies.

So multicultural studies broke us down. It became culturalism. We were told we can have dreadlocks, samosas and steel bands, and you can have all this. So cultural artifacts be-

gan to be promoted.

Where as early, without our knowledge, we were following Cabral's line where Cabral was saying, "It is a culture of a people that at any moment in time takes on a revolutionary form, or a military form, or an economic form, to overthrow the oppressor."

So what is important in our culture is what allows us to resist the domination of other people. But when that culture is then taken and turned into artifacts, into samosas and dreadlocks, what you get is the system trying to preserve some ancient mode or method that cannot endanger the system today. It's not a dynamic culture.

What was the major intention behind the journal Race and Class? Would you say that it serves to illustrate the commonalities, in terms of struggle, between Asians and the African population here in London and elsewhere?

It didn't begin there. It began and always does, in all our issues, whether it is *Columbus* or the *New Conquistadors* or the other issues that you see, it began with reality as it was and then to understand it in order to change it.

So one of the early slogans that we had was that "that *Race and Class*

thinks in order to do". It doesn't, like other journals, think in order to think.

Now think in order to do has a lot of implications. Think in order to do means that people will talk because they are activists and that there cannot be a distinction between a thinker and a doer.

Secondly, the people that there are thinking for should be also the people they are writing for. The people are fighting to be able to understand the language. So there shouldn't be a special jargon, a special language which takes you away from the people. It was not meant to be academic in that sense.

The third thing that we said was that knowledge must liberate. Nyerere was saying at the time that Black people or Third World people that were educated were privileged and that they must return their education to the people who gave it to them. So that is another thing that we learnt.

We began to look at the world as it was and we felt that the problem of racism cannot be understood except in terms of power relations. DuBois had said in 1906 that "the problem of the twentieth century was the problem of the colour line".

When we took over *Race and Class*

we began to realize that the colour line is the power line. Black people, Third World people, were powerless and they were non-white and they were poor. So there was a symbiotic relationship between racism and imperialism.

And between racism and class.

And racism and class. Absolutely. On the one hand, there was a relationship between racism and imperialism, on the other hand there was a relationship between oppression and exploitation.

I was oppressed in my race in order to be exploited in my class. That whatever the obscurantists might say you couldn't remove that fundamental linkage. People would say you're functionalists, you're instrumentalists, they use all sorts of big phrases.

Or you're determinists, the pseudo-marxists, the pseudo-left. All this bullshit that comes out of academia. And we were also anti-academic in that sense because we found that academies were very precious. They removed the peoples' experiences and ratified it. And then held it back in tablets of stone which meant nothing to people in terms of their ordinary everyday lives.

We wanted people to understand what the system was doing to them and for them to help change it with whatever assistance we could give. So we said that the Institute of Race Relations was neither establishment or grassroots.

We are a servicing station for Black people on their way to liberation. We put the gas in their tanks. That is the only role that the Institute played. And *Race and Class* was part of that gas.

Countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America and so on, could not find a venue for their ideas, their analyses, and their writings. They wouldn't be published, not even by the so-called left-wing journals, especially in the English-speaking world, especially in Britain.

And so *Race and Class*, if you look at it, began to bring in authors who were never known. If they couldn't express themselves we sat down and worked with their articles.

You might find an occasional white contributor, because they're committed to the struggle: Davidson, [unclear], and earlier, Hodgkin and various other people; Caldwell.

All of these were people that were scholar activists, Malcolm Caldwell who was a lecturer at the School of Oriental and African studies here in London, was killed in Kampuchea.

Thomas Hodgkin was a man who was a friend of the Vietnamese and spoke Vietnamese and did some tremendous things under Nkrumah's government. So all these so-called white people who helped us were activists in the struggle. And that is what is most important for us.

They were not armchair intellectuals.

No armchair intellectuals, no nationalisms, no culturalisms, no ethnicisms. But we understood the importance of culture, the importance of ethnicity.

The importance of who you are is what you do. All those things came together for us. So we became, as it says in our subtitle, a journal for

Black and Third World liberation. And that's what we've tried to make it.

What type of problems have you experienced because of the political tone of the journal? How do people relate or react to it?

It has taken the journal to establish itself because we have not had the publicity, we have not had the means to get published. The left in this country would not touch me with the long end of a barge pole for a long time.

Why is that?

Because it was in *Race Today* and *Race and Class* that we began to talk of Black autonomous struggles. I wrote a piece earlier on in the '70s about the autonomy of Black struggles and that the white working class was racist: that there was no point of being marxist with your head in the sand.

But you've got to look around and say I would like to have the white class as my brothers and comrades in arms but they're not. And we must understand why they are the most racist. Because they are competing for jobs in the same inner-city areas.

But to say that that is a false consciousness is bullshit! The whole trade union movement was against Black people organising. The trade union movement did not pick our struggles. We organized independent Black political struggles in the working class. That is what gave us our authority.

A lot of communists and socialists negate the issue of race altogether.

Of course. You see, they want to subsume race to class. Very early on I wrote that there is no guarantee that a classless society would be a raceless society. For that reason the left has been very weary and at one point I was characterised as a nationalist.

And now of course they know that the Institute are the first people to come and argue against this sort of reactionary nationalism that puts our own struggle back. But there's a place for nationalism and we want to define that place. We don't want the system and other people to tell us where that is.

And then of course the monies: we used to get it from various church organizations, independent organizations. Those monies are dried up because the churches are becoming more and more conservative.

Even the World Council of Churches is willing to shut down its program to combat racism saying that now, that there's no racism in Africa and South Africa is free. You see, there's a whole move towards the right: the whole of the world has gone so far to the right.

In the article I wanted to give you I talked about this new world order. It's the old capitalist order without any contradictions. And the twenty-first century is going to be the second American century, if we the peoples do not start to do something about it.

Are we moving towards fascism?

Absolutely! There is no opposition. That is terrifying! And, among the people there's apathy. New technology has brought about an information society which is a disinformation society, which has created apathy in the masses.

ZIONISM

RACISM &

MYTH or REALITY?

opinion submitted by the
Palestine Solidarity
Committee

It is difficult for a world which has witnessed the creation of a 'haven' state for the "Jewish people" in the aftermath of Auschwitz to imagine Israelis or Zionists as racists.

But consider the following points. First, in the Israeli Law of Citizenship (1948), which establishes eligibility for citizenship status, it is clear that no citizen in Israel can enjoy any fundamental rights without having a "Jewish Nationality".

Second, for the "Jewish State" to have carried out its intended purpose of gathering Jews from all over the world in one homeland, it was necessary to dispossess the indigenous inhabitants of Palestine, and to continue to deny those who remained all fundamental rights with a view to encouraging them to leave Palestine.

There is no religion in the world that lays claim to a nationality as a consequence of adherence to this religion. This is an alien concept that no civilized people can adhere to, and no international law can uphold. Only in Israel can one claim "nationality" based on one's belonging to a certain faith, the Jewish faith.

Imagine if Canada laid out a criterion whereby passports would be issued to Christians only? Have you ever heard of a Christian nationality? A Moslem nationality? A Hindu Nationality?

A unique and unprecedented situation has been created, perpetuated and condoned by the world as proper and right, where if it were to be perpetrated in another state it would be definitely looked upon as an aberration and a violation of the basic tenets of international law.

The consequence of this *modus vivendi* in Israel is that I, a Palestinian, whose parents, grandparents, and ancestors have lived on historically Palestinian land for thousands of years cannot go back there.

Meanwhile the law of Return (1950) gives the exclusive right to any Jew from any part of the world (now excluding criminals) to come to Palestine and enjoy greater rights (including rights to land and housing) than indigenous Palestinians.

This is outright discrimination on the basis of religion, giving exclusivity to a certain group of people over all others, in this case based on adherence to the Jewish faith.

A few points that concern citizenship in Israel on the basis of a "Jewish nationality" should be raised. Zionism, as many well know, is a political movement. Yet it attempts to sanction its political agenda by invoking the authority of religious doctrine.

This colonialist movement has based its claim to Palestine as a "national home for Jews" on a literal interpretation of Old Testament mythology, and a tribal Hebrew view of God that permeated Jewish thinking two thousand years ago.

Ethnocentric concepts of God could easily give permission to any nation, group, cult or individual to commit the most hideous crimes, while claiming that God condones those actions.

Lord Sydenham, in an address to the British House of Lords on June 21, 1922 said:

"Palestine is not the original home of the Jews. It was acquired by them after a ruthless conquest, and they have never occupied the whole of it which they now openly demand. They have no more valid claim to Palestine than the descendants of the ancient Romans have to this country [Britain]. If we are going to admit claims based on conquest thousands

of years ago, the whole world will have to turned upside down. (Hansard, House of Lords, June 21, 1922.)

A growing number of religious Jews, rabbis and other theologians have condemned the moral poverty of a literal interpretation of religious texts and of the concept of the "promised land", a notion that the Zionist Jews have monopolized and abused for so long.

What these theologians and rabbis are saying is that the "Promised Land" is not a place in geography (Palestine) to be occupied by force, but rather a spiritual state of the mind and heart to be reached by living a pure religious life, and by contemplation.

In other words, God does not mean for the land of Canaan (modern-day Palestine) to be occupied and re-occupied, and for its people to be uprooted and to suffer. Nor does God mean for the Jews to go there and kick the Palestinians out! Those are acts that cannot be condoned by sane persons who call themselves religious!

PROFESSOR Israel Shahak, Professor of Organic Chemistry at Hebrew University and Chairperson of the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights, argues that Zionism has succeeded in perpetrating the most atrocious crimes against Palestinians by extending the long-held belief that "anti-semitism is an intrinsic aspect of non-Jewish human nature" to a people who are totally innocent of crimes perpetrated against the Jews of Europe.

Professor Shahak rejects the notion itself, whether it applies to Europeans or others, and is engaged in a fight against "the doctrine of inherent and collective guilt" which proposes that the West has a duty to support Israel to "atone for the centuries of persecution suffered by European Jews".

Even if one concedes with the historian Arnold Toynbee that the Jews do have "a right to a special position in Palestine which no other present-day non-Palestinian possesses", one would also have to agree with Toynbee's other point that "the Jewish historic claim cannot supersede the rights of present-day Palestinians when it runs up against the statute of limitations."

The wise words of David Ben Gurion, the founder of modern-day Israel, sum it up. "I don't understand your optimism. Why should the Arabs make peace? If I was an Arab leader I would never make terms with Israel. This is natural: We have taken their country."

Even the occupiers of our land concede that their act is one of aggression, and some acknowledge that it cannot be justified on any basis, least of all a moral or religious one.

Zionism's goals could not be achieved without the displacement and uprooting of Palestinians. One of the founders of Zionism, Theodore Herzl, suggests in his diary that the Palestinians should be denied the means of livelihood, so that they will leave, thus eliminating the "Palestinian problem".

"I do not see the partition as the final solution to the Palestine question," Ben Gurion told the twentieth Zionist Congress in 1937. "After the formation of a large army, in the wake of the establishment of the state, we will abolish partition and expand to the whole of Palestine."

Expansionism at the expense of the indigenous inhabitants of the land is clearly at the basis of Zionist ideology. Indeed, Rachel Marshall writes in the Washington Report on Middle Eastern Affairs that 92% of Israel's land is considered "inalienable property of the Jewish people under the Development Authority Law".

The clearest and best example of how expansionist and exclusivist Israel is can be seen in its policies in the West Bank and Gaza. Israel has used its occupying power to move Jewish settlers into the new expanses of land it has occupied, giving those settlers the right to procure land and build houses. The United Nations has passed resolutions time and again asking for the withdrawal of the occupiers of that land.

THE basic point that one keeps reverting to is that Israelis do perceive Palestinian Arabs as inferior to them, and that is why they keep doing these acts with impunity.

It is interesting to note what Moshe Dayan, as early as 1953, had to say about the reaction of Palestinian Arabs to the occupation of their land.

"Let us not today fling accusations at the murderers [sic]. Who are we that we should argue against their hatred? For eight years now they sit in their refugee camps, and before their very eyes, we turn into our homestead the land and the villages in which they and their forefathers have lived."

Uri Avneri has been fighting Israeli racism for a long time. Very early on, he and other progressive Jews realized that only a racist mentality can justify such blatantly unjust actions.

In the light of all the above, one would also imagine that the world community would be more firm with Israel. Goodness, the world moved so swiftly and surely, as one unit, when Saddam Hussein occupied Kuwait!

A war took place in which one hundred and twenty thousand Iraqis, including women and children (who were demonized) died in order that freedom and democracy not be violated. What about the freedom and democracy of Palestinians? Perhaps they do not smell of petro-dollars, that is why the world moral conscience chooses to lie dormant!

All Israeli practices in the West Bank and Gaza attest to the racist mentality of the Israelis. One only needs to read about soldiers' behaviour when they incarcerate young men and women, especially children (who have been targeted heavily since the inception of the Intifada), to realize the extent of this racism.

Men, women and children, denied the right to appear in court, or when they appear the main witnesses against them are soldiers or the secret police.

Children, left in the wind, cold and rain to freeze for hours before being questioned. Women raped and threatened with pictures of their rape if they did not collaborate with their incarcerators.

Foul language used right and left in addressing prisoners. Abuse, torture with electricity, with dogs, and many other methods, like putting children in coffins to get them to sign papers incriminating them. Men and women dying under torture! And the list goes on.

We ask readers, especially the Zionist Jews among them, to tell us what this reminds them of. Don't these images seem familiar? We wonder where those atrocities takes us once again.

We hope that Jews with dignity will raise their voices high and loud, for fascism is not far away. It only seems to have changed its location from central Europe to the Middle East.

classified ads

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11 - Lost & Found

LOST: 1 gold earring in or around McLennan library, Sun., March 7. Sarah 288-0674.

Gold pen, lost on Tuesday, March 9, in McLennan (?). Cash reward: \$60. Please call 938-9279 after 10 pm.

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14 - Notices

McGill Players' Theatre is now accepting proposals for our fall season. Deadline: April 14. For more info call 398-6813 or drop by.

Aerobica-thon Sunday, March 21 for Mont Habitant disabled skiing program. At Joe Weider Gym. 6900 Decarie, Decarie, Decarie, Namur Metro. Participants should have at least \$20 in pledges. Help a good cause. Info 383-5603.

Are you attending York University next year? I am and I am looking for someone to share accommodations and transportation. Call 482-4114 or 936-0114/pager.

By Popular Demand, McGill Chaplaincy will be running a second marriage preparation course this spring, every Thursday in May, 7-10 pm. limited enrolment. Deadline for registration, April 2nd. 398-4104. Free to the McGill community.

Films! Fame! Power! The McGill Film Society is accepting nominations for 1993-94 executive. Information and forms are available in Shalner 432 or at 398-6825. Deadline March 17th.

Myth: Sexual assault is a woman's issue.

Fact: Rape is a societal issue. Only women and men working together can stop rape.

Believing the myths=attitude. Perpetuating the myths=sexual assault. McGill Sexual Assault Centre 398-2700.

Want to Talk? LBGM (Lesbians, Bisexuals, Gays of McGill) sponsors two discussion groups at the Yellow Door, 3625 Aylmer (above Milton) on Fridays. A coming out support group meets at 5:30, and a discussion group meets at 7. A great way to find out about yourself & others.

Confused or Curious? LBGM (Lesbians, Bisexuals, Gays of McGill) has restarted peer counselling. Anyone interested in LBGM and/or finding out about their sexuality can drop by Shalner Room 417, or call 398-6822. Hours are 7 to 10, Monday through Friday. We're here for you!

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Academic racism

Rushton & friends target the r-people

BY STEVEN ROURKE

The work of Philippe Rushton and his lesser known co-author Anthony Bogaert is illustrative of a type of pseudo-academic theorizing that attempts to render scientifically presentable the most racist of stereotypes.

Rushton and Bogaert apply a gene-based evolutionary model to a constructed system of race categories in order to account for their prejudiced perceptions of our society and its ills.

The writing of these men appeals to base, hateful characterizations and reeks of contrivance of statistics, of sham experiments and research, and of poor science. Its insidiousness can be further attributed to its glossy presentation and to the fact that it is published in prestigious journals such as *Social Science and Medicine*.

Rushton and Bogaert's articles on intelligence and aggression provoked protests at the University of Western Ontario. These theories rest upon gratuitous perceptions of "caucasoids, mongoloids, and negroids" — race constructs to which Rushton and Bogaert adhere for the sake of appearing scientific.

Faulty reasoning and documentation as well as erroneous causal links draw the authors to conclude that intelligence is inversely related to aggression and is found in greater concentration amongst "Mongoloids".

The study builds from this early conceptual framework. Their seldom-followed work on AIDS purportedly relies upon the same race constructs, and expands the idea of evolutionary development by grafting upon these categories the notions of r-selection and K-selection.

Are you r-selected or K-selected?

Evolutionary theory holds that r-selected organisms are those which reproduce frequently with large litter sizes. This kind of selection entails a rapid maturation rate, low levels of investment in precocial offspring and a high rate of infant mortality. The example usually given is the oyster which reproduces at the rate of 500 000 000 yearly.

The K-selected organism is one which matures slowly. It invests effort in the raising of its altricial offspring which are produced relatively infrequently in small-sized litters. Rushton and Bogaert provide the example of the great ape, with its one offspring in five years.

They write: "As a species, humans are at the K end of the continuum, although some people are postulated to be more K than others. The more K a person is, the more likely he or she is expected to come from an intact family, with more intensive parental care, with fewer and more widely spaced offspring, and with a lower incidence

of multiple birthing and infant mortality.

"Ks are expected to have a longer gestation period, a higher birthweight, a more delayed sexual maturation, a lower sex drive, and a longer life. Moreover, the K person is inclined to be more intelligent, altruistic, law-abiding, and behaviorally restrained." [1215]

The application of differential rates of selection is clearly based on Bogaert and Rushton's views of "identifiable" race characteristics. It is founded upon the intentionally uncritical presentation of statistics such as rates of pregnancy and infant mortality.

These statistics are not examined in any social context; instead, they are used as racial indicators and proof of genetic difference. Rushton and Bogaert attempt to prop-up this fake science by allusion to popular perceptions which oppose the polite and inexperienced "oriental" to the sex-crazed, violent "black".

Hence, racial differences in sexual behaviour are explained by Bogaert and Rushton's idea that sexual restraint is highest in orientals, so that "orientals > whites > blacks" [1213]. Their reasoning is supported by the following examples of non-science.

Racism, lies and breakfast cereals...

"52 per cent of British female university students 'think about sex everyday' while only 1 per cent of Japanese female students did so" [1216].

"The Victorian ideals originating in the early eighteenth century, aimed at total abstinence or, if married, extreme continence. Graham crackers, Kellogg's Cornflakes, Granola and other breakfast cereals began as healthy foods aimed at preventing masturbation and 'sexual degeneracy'" [1216].

"It has been argued that, within the constraints allowed by the total spectrum of cultural alternatives, people create norms and environments maximally compatible with their genotypes. This would explain why in China and Japan clothing styles have often been chosen to flatten the breasts and buttocks in an explicit attempt 'to deanimalize' with an opposite clothing style often chosen in Africa. Moreover, in Africa dances have been invented which emphasize undulating rhythms and mock copulation. Underlying dispositions affect many aspects of lifestyle" [1216].

"In the United States blacks are about one-eighth of the population but in 1980, accounted for about one-half of all those arrested for rape" [1216].

"It is well established that..." [1215].

Epidemiology made easy

Once they "establish" that "negroids" are more r-selected,

Bogaert and Rushton stretch their theory of sexual aggression and activity to the reality of AIDS. Their concept is simple: AIDS is predominant in areas with concentrations of black people (e.g. Sub-Saharan Africa, Haiti, inner cities...) because of the elevated rates at which sexual intercourse is performed amongst these people, providing for the spread of HIV.

"Countries with large black populations should be more at risk than those with smaller black populations (e.g. Brazil > Argentina)" [1218].

Is it even worth addressing such a ridiculous theory? If it were not for the reverence with which Bogaert and Rushton are held by the scientific community, it would be easily dismissed as a preposterous sham and not given a second thought.

Why is it, then, that racist theory which fails to conceive of any factors such as access to education, treatment and a decent standard of lifestyle, is taken seriously by the world of science?

What explains the fact that Philippe Rushton was awarded, in November of 1992, an honorary graduate degree from the University of London for his work on race constructs and evolutionary theory?

Charles Leslie is a visiting professor of the Department of Human and Social Studies in Medicine whose article *Scientific Racism: Reflections on Peer Review, Science and Ideology* addresses the issue of the publication of Rushton and Bogaert's work.

Leslie examines peer review, the process by which an article is revised and accepted for publication by an academic journal. He suggests that the veneer of scientific quality is an explanation for *Social Science and Medicine's* publication of Rushton and Bogaert and that the graphs and charts illustrating the text help to disguise and to rationalize racism.

The rationalizing mechanism is aided further, argues Leslie, by the appeal of the article's racist content to popular stereotypes. Leslie writes that representation of such cloaked stereotypes was justified by journal editors who stressed the importance of free speech and claimed that its standard of reporting warranted publication.

Is academic racism, then, beyond sanction? Is the person steeped in academic distinction to be allowed to spread such poorly researched, discriminatory theories?

Cases like Philippe Rushton and Anthony Bogaert definitely appear to affirm such an assertion.

It paints a dismal picture of a racist establishment which provides for the propagation of its ideology through the awarding of fellowships, such as the Guggenheim, honorary degrees and access to publication to its most active participants.